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ABSTRACT

Dealing specifically with the social science research role in rehabilitation facilities, this monograph addresses the development of research as it occurs within service organizations. It examines the research role from the perspective of both the person in the role and the host organization. The second chapter describes the development and differentation of the research role in service organizations, identifies significant others involved in the process, catalogs the roles that a researcher may assume in such organizations, and discusses the problem of satisfactorily integrating the several research roles. Chapter 3 focuses on the impact of the research role, on both the host organization and the field of rehabilitation. Chapter 4 describes several alternative orientations toward developing the research role. Chapter 5 examines the research role in service organizations from the perspective of the researcher. Chapter 6 anticipates some administrative problems that attend development of the research role, and it recommends strategies to minimize their impact. The final chapter contains concluding remarks and recommendations for increasing the value of the researcher to both the host organization and his profession. Appendices containing research project references conclude the document. (Author/ND)

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Vocational Guidance & Rehabilitation Services

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ROLES FOR SOCIOLOGISTS IN SERVICE ORGANIZATIONS

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CONTENTS

Preface ..... *v*

I. INTRODUCTION 1

II. DEVELOPMENT OF THE RESEARCH ROLE 5

III. IMPACT OF THE RESEARCH ROLE 15

IV. ALTERNATIVE ORIENTATIONS TO THE RESEARCH ROLE 31

V. RESEARCHER PROBLEMS AND STRATEGIES 41

VI. ADMINISTRATIVE PROBLEMS AND STRATEGIES 53

VII. CONCLUSIONS AND RECOMMENDATIONS 63

References 69

Appendices

A. Project References 73

B. Research and Service Projects 77

Preface

Professional services of any kind must be supported by two institutionalized activities: the training of personnel in the techniques and norms of practice, and the development of a body of empirically derived and tested knowledge to guide practice. This monograph addresses the latter activity as it occurs within service organizations. It deals with the social science research role in rehabilitation facilities and was prepared as a final report for a grant from the Social and Rehabilitation Service entitled "The Coordinator of Research at Vocational Guidance and Rehabilitation Services." This project was intended to develop research capabilities and resources in a rehabilitation facility with the goal of immediately improving practice and ultimately contributing to the scope and validity of knowledge which forms the basis for practice.

Roles for Sociologists in Service Organizations examines the research role from the perspective of both the incumbent of the role and the host organization. It is addressed to administrators and practicing professionals in rehabilitation and other fields and social science researchers working or anticipating working in service organizations. It also should be of value to those who are interested in the social context of research in general.

This monograph does not enter into the technical aspects of research, nor does it deal with specific research activities in a single setting. Its aim is to: (1) describe the development of the research role and some of the alternative orientations that may differentially shape this role in service organizations; (2) identify some of the contributions that research roles can make to the organization's internal functioning, interorganization relations and

professional-field goals; and (3) discuss the nature of service organizations as host research environments in terms of the administrative and professional-scientific issues which arise for administrators, practitioners and researchers.

The development of research capabilities in a service organization cannot be understood apart from the organizational and interorganizational context in which it occurs, the historical circumstances that impinge upon this context and the disposition of those participating in the process. The observations in this monograph are the result of a grant to develop the role of Research Director at Vocational Guidance and Rehabilitation Services, a private, non-profit rehabilitation agency. VGRS is a multi-disciplinary agency offering a broad range of rehabilitation services with special programs for the youth and aged of surrounding inner-city neighborhoods. Each year as many as 3,500 clients and 1,000 family members of these clients receive services. Hundreds of other local residents participate in a variety of social and recreational programs. VGRS is part of a complex of eleven agencies clustered together in Cleveland's inner city (O'Toole, et al., 1972). It is governed by a Board of Directors and administered by an Executive Director with Service Department Heads reporting generally to one of two Associate Directors. The Research Director has department head status and reports directly to the Executive.

The research role was established during a time of substantial federal funding of rehabilitation programs through expansion, research and development, and training grants. During this time, the proportion of support from the private sector decreased and there was an increasing tendency to look to the federal government to provide funds for expansion or innovative programming. The authors, both sociologists, were researchers at VGRS during and following the four-year grant period, after which the research role was incorporated into the regular structure of the agency. Richard O'Toole became Research Director in February of 1968.

James E. Trela, beginning in July of 1970, was Research Coordinator on the Cleveland Inner-City Project, a Social and Rehabilitation Service research and development project focusing on rehabilitation of the inner-city poor. He became Research Director in June, 1971.

This report, of course, relies heavily upon the authors' observations and experiences. It is recognized, however, that these experiences are largely confined to one setting and may be atypical in several ways. Nevertheless, if this report is to be of value it must address the question of doing research in service organizations in general rather than describe the research activities of several researchers in one organization. Hence, rather than focusing on sociologists in a rehabilitation organization as a specific referent, it examines the nature of the reasearch role and those factors which shape its development in service organizations in general. An attempt is made to supplement our experiences and observations with those of other researchers and also to speculate about real and potential substantive, administrative and professional issues which mold research in all service organizations.

During the years we have been associated with VGRS many individuals have touched and influenced both our professional and personal lives and contributed to a variety of our efforts. While they are too numerous to mention by name, we thank the fellow researchers, consultants, administrators, and other agency staff for creating a stimulating environment and hospitable setting in which to work and grow. Members of the board of directors were especially instrumental in initiating the grant which provided for the development of the research role and have enthusiastically supported a variety of research projects. In the preparation of this monograph, we acknowledge the valuable suggestions of Mrs. Harold F. Banister, executive director of VGRS, and express appreciation to Lynn Phillips, Carol Trela, and Ann Roberts for their editorial assistance.

I. Introduction

There is often little interaction between service organizations and various scientific disciplines and hence role definitions and standards of role performance have not been firmly developed for persons who cross over their boundaries. This is especially apparent for those who occupy non-practitioner research and training roles. Insofar as most professional training and social scientific research is university based this is not surprising. For sociologists, the 1964 National Register of Scientific and Technical Personnel found, for example, that fully 80 percent of those responding listed educational institutions as their principal employer. Only 7 percent were employed by various non-profit organizations, including hospitals, foundations, and a variety of service organizations. Most social scientists, then, are teachers and/or researchers in colleges and universities and share values and norms which define the roles they play in these settings.

Although there has been some conflict between research and teaching activities, these have been traditionally viewed as compatible and colleges and universities have "missions" which in general terms specify the appropriate balance between them. In some colleges the research role is essentially excluded in favor of teaching, while in some prestigious universities the research-scholarship role is given primacy. In either case the role that is defined as most salient is generally apparent. Similarly, in large research bureaucracies, the rights and obligations of the research role are clearly specified. Sociologists, however, with some exceptions, have not developed role guidelines for researchers employed in service organizations and are generally unaware of the potential contributions they can make in such settings (not only to host

organizations but to their discipline as well). Nor, for that matter, has the discipline come to any working conception of the relationship between pure and applied research, if in fact that distinction is a viable one. Yet, recently McGinnis and Solomon (1973), examining "Employment Prospects for Ph.D. Sociologists During the Seventies," noted that:

> The critical sector of appropriate employment for sociologists during the seventies . . . is non-academic research. Unfortunately, the potential for growth in this sector is largely unknown because such a trivial number of sociologists are employed in it currently.

Just as sociologists and other social scientists have not specified the nature of the role they can play in service organizations, those in fields such as rehabilitation have not developed the role of full-time in-house employee researcher. Sociologists, of course, often assume temporary short-term roles (e.g., they have utilized rehabilitation settings for their own research purposes, contracted for specific research projects or consulted on organizational problems), but there has not been sufficient experience with full-time researchers to develop a clear conception of their role and possible contribution within the rehabilitation setting. In such organizations, then, the research role must be developed; and this development must take account of the various perspectives and interests of the organization's administrators, practitioners and the researcher.

The analysis of professional contexts and roles is common among the self-conscious social sciences. There has especially been a proliferation of written material examining the social context as a critical variable in the research process (cf. Adams and Preiss, 1960; Hammond, 1964; Rossi, 1966; Sjoberg, 1967; O'Toole, 1971; Trela and O'Toole, 1973). These roles and research contexts, however, are typically examined in terms of the professional-scientific needs of the researcher. Alternatively, the following chapters examine the social science research role in service organi-

zations from the perspective of the organization and its administrators and practitioners as well as from the perspective of the researcher. In fact, the focus of this report is shaped by the realization that most service organizations, especially those not connected with a university, do not have within their structure a role for researchers and that most researchers are not trained for nonacademic organizational roles. Hence, we seek to examine how introduction of the research role affects the social context of a service activity, the roles the researcher can play in service organizations, and the impact of the research role on the host organization, its interorganizational environment, and its practice field. Special attention is also given to the problems and issues that may attend the development of this role within a service organization.

Chapter II describes the development and differentiation of the research role in service organizations, identifies the significant others involved in the process, catalogues the roles that a researcher may assume in such organizations, and discusses the problem of satisfactorily integrating the several roles that the researcher plays.

Unlike the research role in the university or research institute, the contributions a researcher can be expected to make to the goals of service organizations have not been fully identified. Hence, Chapter III focuses on the impact of the research role both on the host organization and the field of rehabilitation.

Recognizing that the expectations attached to the research role will reflect the interests of organization practitioners and administrators as well as those of the role incumbent, Chapter IV describes several alternative general orientations toward developing the research role. In organizations where a role has not been institutionalized and individuals share different perspectives, alternatives must be recognized and accommodations must be struck which satisfy both the interests of the researcher and the organization.

It would be expected that social scientists, trained for a teaching-research career, entering a setting where the research role is not clearly defined will be faced with new experiences and problems. Hence, Chapter V examines the research role in service organizations from the perspective of the researcher.

Chapter VI anticipates some of the administrative problems that attend development of the research role and recommends strategies to minimize their impact. It seems important to call attention to these in view of the fact that individual researchers are not fully prepared in their professional training for work outside the university setting and may retain a strong orientation to that setting long after receipt of their terminal degree.

The final chapter contains some concluding remarks and some recommendations which, if acted upon, will increase the value of the researcher both to the host organization in which he is employed and to the profession he practices. The recommendations are addressed to potential service organization researchers, the university and university colleagues, the host service organizations, and the field of rehabilitation.

II. Development of The Research Role

Because the functions of research in rehabilitation and other service organizations have never been clearly defined, the establishment of a research role is best thought of as a process of *role development and differentiation.* This is the process by which individuals, through continued social interaction, develop expectations concerning the rights and obligations for their behavior and the behavior of others in the setting.

The concept of role development begins by recognizing that, even where roles are not clearly defined, (1) participants bring to the organization previously held values, beliefs, and expectations, and (2) all organizations have social structural boundaries and cultural standards which define the limits of appropriate behavior. Individuals, of course, vary as to the strength of preconceived role concepts and organizations vary as to the clarity of structural and cultural boundaries. The various perspectives and boundaries which shape the role development process in a rehabilitation facility derive from: (1) the researcher's scientific discipline and the role conceptions which are commonly valued by scientific colleagues; (2) the host organization's goals, social structure and conceptions of the research role; (3) the needs and interests of practitioners and administrators; (4) the rehabilitation profession and the social movement of which it is a part; and (5) funding, coordinating, planning, and other decision-making bodies which are related to the host organization. The significant others who interact with the researcher in the role development process are administrators and practitioners, representatives of federal and state funding agencies, members of the organizations governing board, colleagues at nearby universities, and research department staff members.

Subsequent sections of this chapter provide a general description of the research role development and differentiation process, followed by analysis of factors which influence the expansion of roles in the service organizational setting. A description of the content of the researcher's repertoire of roles is then provided followed by a discussion of the factors and processes involved in attempts to integrate often disparate role expectations.

The Development and Differentiation of Roles

One of the most influential factors shaping the research role in service settings is the research and demonstration (R & D) grant. To receive an R & D, federal funding agencies require the grantee to submit an elaborate proposal outlining the specific project plan, the theoretical and practical rationale underlying the plan, a review of relevant literature, the organization's previous related work, and a research design for the evaluation of the project's effectiveness. Periodic progress reports and a final report describing project research findings are also required. The R & D, then, calls for a union of service and research; the research requirement perhaps being the primary reason why many service organizations have become involved in research. Organizations seeking to use the R & D as a vehicle for demonstrating new programs and expanding the quantity and quality of their services have had to meet federal specifications which require an evaluative research component. More recently, the emphasis on accountability has called attention to the need for continuing program evaluation. The development of an in-house research staff (as opposed to contracting with university or other researchers) is one way to meet these requirements and facilitate the necessary joint action between practitioners and researchers not only in evaluation, but in the design, implementation and coordination of projects as well.

The new agency social scientist may at first define his role strictly in terms of research and related tasks and resist assuming responsibilities not immediately related to the several steps of the

research process. Full-time employment in a service organization, however, exposes the researcher to forces which push and pull him toward greater involvement in the organization and its larger environment. The research role and to a lesser degree the teacher role for which he has been trained tend to be expanded.

Research: First, earning research credentials assumes at least some substantive knowledge about human behavior and social conditions, and familiarity with programs designed to alter that behavior or ameliorate those conditions. The development of literary skills is also necessary. In a service organization, these research related skills are likely to be pressed into service and the researcher may become responsible not only for applied research and program evaluation, but for program design as well — especially when the latter involves the preparation of elaborate written requests for funding.

Second, there is a tendency for applied researchers to function in both administrative and liaison capacities. These roles are natural extensions of the combined research and program design roles. The program designer, for example, is the person most familiar with a project's personnel needs and budget requirements and thus may be called upon in both the recruitment and orientation of service personnel. Further, some administrative control is necessary for collecting data and preserving the integrity of research designs. Once an administrative role is assumed, here too there is a tendency for the role to not only be maintained but for it to be expanded. Hence, the researcher who designs a service program becomes the "authority" to turn to when problems arise in the program's early stages. Similarly, dealing with program budget and design, pursuing funding, and solving project problems often involves not only administrative activities, but the initiation and management of interorganizational relationships for the organization. R & D's, for example, may require liaison with several levels of government and a variety of other service agencies. In

short, program design, administrative, and liaison activities are the mainstays of grantsmanship and tend to be identified as separate roles the researcher should play.

Finally, one of the major activities of the research role is the collection, reduction and analysis of data and the communication of subsequent findings. The organization's definition of research includes these skills and it seems natural for administrators to request that record keeping functions be assigned to the research department, even though most record keeping systems hold only limited research value. In this way the researcher's role is again expanded. A secondary consequence of record keeping is the further expansion of the administrative and liaison roles. Not only are staff transferred to his supervision, but record keeping requires the coodination of data reporters throughout the organization, coordination of record keeping with other organizations, and consultation with administrators concerning modifications and improvements in the record keeping system.

The research, program planning and design, administrative, and liaison roles, while perhaps the most important, do not exhaust the roles that a researcher may play in a service organization. For example, researchers, of course, need to keep abreast of developments in their discipline and communicate the results of their research to appropriate audiences. These activities blend well with the service organization's need for information about professional practice and its need to disseminate information about its programs. Hence, the communicator role is differentiated. In this role the researcher is responsible for reviewing and condensing information from the field of rehabilitation (and other disciplines as well) for dissemination to practitioners, and writing about organizational programs and research for dissemination to rehabilitation and other audiences. Information is transmitted to practitioners both through informal channels of communication and formally through project designs, in-service educational programs,

and reports to administrators and board members. The dissemination of information *from* the organization is intimately linked to scientific norms which require the sharing of research results with appropriate audiences. This includes the presentation of research papers at professional society meetings, the publication of monographs, books and articles for professional journals, and the preparation of final reports for funded projects. Support for this aspect of the research role is provided by funding agencies of the rehabilitation movement concerned with the dissemination and utilization of research findings, and the host organization which recognizes both its obligations to meet the terms of grants and the secondary benefits of wide exposure in the rehabilitation community.

As with other roles, the communication role tends to be broadly defined and quickly expanded. Because the researcher represents scholarly interests and relies on written material in his several roles, it follows that he will be called upon to assist in the collection, preparation and dissemination of materials which are not research related but which concern the organization. Responsibility for the staff library, preparation of annual reports, speeches and testimonies before legislative groups, as well as review of critical communication with other organizations, are examples of such activities. In turn, these activities lead to additional administrative and staff duties.

Education: Like researcher, the role of educator is another "natural" role to be assumed in a service organization. Professional training and relationships with university colleagues as well as organizational needs lead the researcher to assume this role. University graduate students are an excellent source of skilled part-time workers necessary in many phases of a research operation, and the researcher is likely to recognize that he can afford students important educational and employment opportunities. Also, as a result of his theoretical and methodological training,

substantive knowledge in some areas, and teaching skills, a researcher may be requested to contribute to formal training programs and the in-service training of staff.*

In all the roles the researcher plays, it is expected that he will apply his skills where they are needed. Functioning as a resource person within the organization eventually becomes identified as a separate role; that of consultant to administrators and practitioners.

Factors Influencing the Expansion of Roles

The preceding section shows how the "natural" roles of the social scientist — researcher and educator — tend to be expanded in service organizations. There are both organizational and individual reasons for this. The organization has an interest in expanding the research role and there is a tendency for practitioners and administrators to expect skills to be generalized. The proliferation of roles, then, may simply reflect practitioner and administrator recognition and utilization of skills that researchers possess. This kind of generalization of functions is characteristic of all the roles the researcher may play in service organizations. Where roles are not rigidly defined, persons are expected to be fluid and to expand or change roles as organizational needs require. And, when several activities performed by the same person are distinct and identifiable, these activities may be developed into a new role. Once this differentiation is made, individuals, both within and outside the organization, begin to act on the basis of the new role. Hence, the researchers "natural" roles are easily expanded to include separate program design, administrative, liaison, record keeping and consultant roles.

Just as there are pressures on the researcher in a service organization to expand his range of activities, there are several

*In addition to several short-term training programs, VGRS, during this period, hosted a Rehabilitation Services Administration sponsored training program for Workshop Supervisors in rehabilitation agencies.

reasons why the researcher is likely to accede to these pressures or perhaps himself initiate an expansion of his roles. First, because the mission of a service organization is service rather than the development of a body of knowledge, the researcher may feel that he must "pay his way" by contributing in ways other than research. Also, the products of research are often long delayed and researchers may feel the need to make a more immediate contribution to organizational goals. Second, the researcher may believe that his ideas and expertise will benefit the organization and its clients, and hence welcome the opportunity to be involved in service programs. Indeed, to the degree that service settings afford the opportunity to be at the frontier of individual and social change, they may attract researchers with humanistic interests and a desire to be engaged in social action activities.

The Repertoire of Roles

As noted in previous sections, several research roles were developed and differentiated into separate sets of expectations, and recognized by the researcher and others who participated in the role development process. These include:

Research: This role consists of designing and initiating research projects including problem formulation, the selection or design of instruments, data collection and processing, data analysis and the preparation of reports and publications. The research may be "basic" or "applied" and may involve collaboration with university colleagues or organization practitioners.

Program Planning and Design: In this role the researcher works with administrators, practitioners and frequently funding agency personnel to design research and demonstration, and service and training projects. This normally includes, in addition to program design, the preparation of budgets and grant applications for outside funding.

Administration: This role includes the supervision of subordinate research workers and consultants, some management of the service component of R & D's, and the coordination of research with administrators, service personnel and funding organizations.

Liaison with Other Organizations: This role centers on managing interorganizational relations for the agency. Each of the researcher's roles may have an interorganizational component which becomes recognized by other persons as a separate and distinct role. The role consists of initiating and maintaining relationships with other agencies and organizations, responding to requests for client and service data, providing technical resources (as in the preparation of project grants), the disposition of contractural obligations such as final reports, and perhaps negotiating the division of labor in cooperative service ventures.

Record Keeping: In this role the researcher collects, processes, analyzes and communicates data on agency programs and clients. This becomes the basis both for administrative decision-making and for reporting agency activities to funding, accrediting, coordinating and planning organizations at the local, state, and national levels.

Communication: In the role of communicator the researcher is at the hub of a network that functions to receive and transmit information for the organization. The researcher, through both informal and formal communication channels, facilitates the reciprocal passage of information between agency practitioners and administrators, on the one hand, and researchers, practitioners and funders in the field of rehabilitation, on the other.

Education and Training: Several of the roles performed by the researcher incorporate educational functions including the formal and informal instruction of research assistants and statistical clerks, in-service training of staff, and participation in formal rehabilitation training programs.

Consultation: In this somewhat residual role the researcher functions as a resource person on specific organizational problems and as a general consultant to administrators and practitioners on organizational planning and program evaluation.

The Integration of Roles

As noted earlier, the research role is shaped, within organizational and cultural boundaries, through the interaction of the incumbent and significant other individuals in the host and related organizations. This role development process is dynamic, with phases of stability, reassessment, retrenchment and rapid growth. Changes in either the researcher's or organization's circumstances create the need for new relationships and influence the role development process. Organizational thrusts into new areas of activity, or the redefinition of other relevant roles in the organization, for example, create new problems and opportunities and new boundaries and demands on the development of the research role. Similarly, changes in any of the researcher's professional interests (such as a new research opportunity) may result in the incumbent seeking to reshape his organizational roles so that the new goal may be pursued. Hence, even while the number of roles associated with the researcher is increased, existing role definitions are in a state of change.

Of the roles the researcher performs, not all are related or compatible, and some are actually in competition. The management of interorganizational relations, for example, is especially time consuming and competitive with research activity. As new roles are differentiated and the definition of existing roles change, the researcher has the task of integrating those that are disparate. He must integrate the role most salient to him with those that others define as most deserving of his time and energies. The education role is most easily integrated with the research role, for it matches the career conceptions of the academic setting in which

the researcher has been trained and socialized. Administrative and liaison roles, however, are less easily integrated. Hence, as roles are developed and differentiated, the researcher must attempt to control the process and work out a compatible balance between organizational needs and his own professional and personal values and career ambitions. The extent to which the researcher can work out compatible relationships between his several roles to his own satisfaction and achieve a concensus among other participants in the role development process, of course, is always a matter of degree. It is most difficult to integrate his total constellation of roles when others in the host organization hold expectations different for the incumbent regarding the research role. It is least difficult when the researcher and organization personnel share similar orientations. This is discussed in detail in Chapter IV.

III. Impact of The Research Role

In the preceding chapter we identified the array of roles that may be performed by researchers. In this chapter we ask: does the development of the research role in a service organization contribute to the goals of that organization and the larger endeavor of which it is a part? To answer this question, the researcher's roles are analyzed in terms of their impact on: the internal workings of the organization and its programs; the management of the organization's relationships with other organizations; and the organization's contribution to the field of professional practice.

The roles performed by the researcher, of course, are interrelated. Research activities, in a research and development program, for example, may be related to program planning and design and may involve the researcher in liaison and administrative relations within the host organization and with outside organizations. Nevertheless, it is possible to identify general outcomes which reflect certain role activities. In Figure 1 an attempt is made to specify the relationship between role activities and specific areas of impact at the organizational, interorganizational, and professional field levels of concern. For example, the research role has important consequences for the achievement of organizational and professional goals but has little direct impact on interorganizational relations. Alternatively, the liaison role may have beneficial consequences for interorganizational and professional field goals, but is of little direct consequence for the organization's internal operations.

Organizational Operations

Development of the research role in a service organization should result in: improved program evaluation and client follow-

FIGURE 1

RESEARCH ROLES AND AREAS OF IMPACT

Organizational Operations

Roles	Areas of Impact
Research	Program Evaluation and Client Follow-up
Consultation	Program Development
Program Planning and Design	Staff Effectiveness
Administration	Organizational Development
Record Keeping	Decision Making and Problem Solving
Communication	Program Accounting
Education and Training	

Interorganizational Relations

Roles	Areas of Impact
Liaison	Support and Resources from Other Organizations
Program Planning and Design	Accountability and Visability
Record Keeping	
Communication	

Contributions to the Professional Field

Roles	Areas of Impact
Research	Linkage of Theory, Research and Practice
Communication	Contributions to Knowledge
Education and Training	
Liaison	

up; more effective program development; increased staff effectiveness; new initiatives in organizational development; more efficient decision making and problem solving; and improved internal program accounting. All of these bear directly upon the quality of services provided in such organizations.

Program Evaluation and Client Follow-up: The researcher's theoretical and methodological knowledge employed in evaluative research potentially provides the basis for his most significant impact on the internal operations of the service organization and its programs. The reason for this, as many have noted, is that one of the greatest needs of all service organizations is for the evaluation of services they provide (Lacks and Plax, 1972). In rehabilitation, for example, the providers of service are often concerned primarily with the process independent of the products of rehabilitation practice. Services are assumed to have beneficial outcomes. It is not uncommon for programs to be judged solely in terms of what is done *for* and *to* clients ("inputs"). The researcher, on the other hand, employing the methods of science, can collect and analyze data and measure the degree to which specified organizational activities produce the desired effects. He focuses on "outcomes" and seeks to determine the degree to which they are the intended results of certain services.

Program evaluation and client follow-up are important in a service organization not only because they seek to determine the effectiveness of programs but also because these activities provide the impetus and basis for programmatic change. They also promote a sensitivity to the relationship of means to ends and client benefits to service costs, and encourage exploration for more effective alternative service strategies.

Program Development: Closely related to program evaluation is program development. There is a pressing need for those engaged in developing service strategies to be at the frontier of knowledge in their areas of interest. For many good reasons,

however, the need is seldom met. In any rapidly changing field, ideas are often ahead of practice and the dissemination and utilization of new ideas and knowledge is always problematic. Research and practice have, in fact, been so detached that information is often outdated before it reaches those who may use it. Equally as important, most research findings never reach the potential user in a form that can be easily and directly translated into practice. Recognition of the fact that the communication networks of the "discoverers" and "users" of knowledge do not significantly overlap has led to repeated calls for a stronger relationship between researcher and practitioner.

The process of program planning and design is strengthened by the researcher's close association with practitioners and his participation in a communication system which helps connect organizational personnel to researchers and other practitioners in the field. First, through the professional literature and formal and informal associations with professionals outside the organization, the researcher acquires and disseminates new knowledge and procedures within the organization and may be instrumental in insuring the utilization of this knowledge in program planning and design. Just as important, the researcher is in an excellent position to help practitioners translate research knowledge into new strategies for practice. It is this skill that accounts for the tendency for researchers to become involved in program planning and design. Thus, by participating in the professional-scientific communication network, by promoting the linkage of new knowledge with practice, and by drawing out the implications of research for practice, the researcher may have a significant impact on program development and the quality of new programs.

Staff Effectiveness: It is, of course, apparent that program evaluation contributes directly to the quality of services offered in a service organization. Systematic evaluation also has several latent consequences which contribute to quality services. When

practitioners realize that the *outcomes* of their efforts are being analyzed and evaluated there are often efforts to improve the quality of services. Also, in completing data reports, practitioners are continually reminded of the goals of service and are provided with the opportunity for periodic self and program evaluation.

The researcher, as an adjunct to his evaluation and program planning roles, may also contribute to practice as a trainer. Rapidly changing organizations are always faced with the problems of training and orienting both new and continuing personnel. This is especially true when innovative programs are being initiated and professional and non-professional personnel must be recruited in a very short time. Researchers, having often designed programs, can help orient staff to program needs and their various roles in a service project. In addition, in his role as educator, the researcher may periodically find it useful to formally remind staff of the goals of the project. Perhaps the major impact of the educational role, however, is informal. Interaction between the researcher and practitioners results in mutual "education." The more effective the researcher is in this interaction, the greater his impact on staff effectiveness and professional practice.

Organizational Development: Just as program planning and design are related to the quality of services offered in a service organization, they are also related to the direction and rapidity of organizational change and the financial and administrative strength of the organization over time. The researcher, through innovative programming, can be instrumental in securing grant support and other resources for new initiatives.

Often, practitioners, even those with a high level of experience and knowledge, do not feel able to conceptualize, plan, and design a new program and then construct a research design by which it can be evaluated. The researcher's theoretical and substantive knowledge and analytic, methodological and writing skills can be engaged to design new programs and to secure necessary

funding for demonstrating projects that expand service offerings and contribute to the development of the organization. For example, the Federal Research and Development grant has been a particularly important vehicle for development. The organization wishing to take advantage of this mechanism must comply with the funder's application, evaluation and reporting requirements. Once the researcher gains experience in program planning and grant writing, these skills can be used for seeking funding for projects of all types. These funds provide for greater organizational flexibility in programming and staffing and afford the opportunity to try out new ideas and patterns of service which would otherwise not be possible. Not incidentally, the organization that is able to develop innovative programs and experiment with its service strategies is most likely to attract the most capable staff. From the organization's standpoint, program planning and design and related grantsmanship may be among the researcher's most significant contributions, for through these activities scare resources are secured and new programs are developed.

Decision Making and Problem Solving: In addition to placing program planning and development on a more scientific basis, evaluative research is an important aspect of administrative decision making. Indeed, Suchman notes that "evaluative research constitutes the methodological and empirical backbone of any attempt to build a field of administrative science or practice theory" (1971). The researcher's impact, of course, stems from information he supplies to decision makers and not from his position within the administrative hierarchy. Through consultation, the researcher furnishes information and perhaps recommendations to policy makers and may make additional recommendations with regard to the process of communicating and implementing policy once it had been determined. Information on the efficacy of a particular program or mode of service delivery, of course, is only one element in this process. In addition, scientific knowledge of community structure and minorities can be employed to provide deci-

sion makers with alternative perspectives on a problem, and some knowledge about the probable outcomes of administrative decisions.

Closely related to decision making is problem solving. Organizations are often faced with a variety of problems ranging from devising "short cut" methods of testing a new service strategy to convincing a related service organization to provide services to a given population category. Hence, in addition to using theoretical and substantive knowledge in his field and the interdisciplinary knowledge accumulated in rehabilitation in day-to-day decision making, the researcher can contribute to any problem solving efforts. For example, through his understanding of the structure of organizations and the process by which they function he may be able to show how a problem is due to the structure of the organization and not to the personalities of those involved. Or, the researcher's experience in fields of study other than rehabilitation may provide unexpected analogies and thus broaden the range of alternatives considered by policy makers and practitioners.

In addition to theoretical knowledge is the researcher's methodological skills. Research is a problem solving process and hence the researcher should be adept at articulating the important elements of a given problem and designing a procedure for its solution. Hence, any problem solving process (e.g., the effectiveness of a new case management system) may beneficially include the researcher, even when he lacks relevant substantive expertise.

Perhaps the greatest contribution to organizational problem solving, however, results from the empirical, skeptical and critical nature of science. The researcher, having internalized the scientific perspective, is better able to assume a detached posture with regard to policy alternatives. To the degree that he is detached and can legitimize the role of "devil's advocate," the researcher may be able to identify unanticipated consequences of various decisions and suggest more viable alternatives. As with decision

making, however, the impact of the researcher on problem solving is indirect and not easily assessable.

Program Accounting: One important adjunct to program evaluation and administrative decision making, and problem solving is record keeping. There is a great need for the systematic recording of services rendered, numbers and characteristics of clients served, and the other facts related to organizational operations. However, service accounting systems utilized in service organizations are usually inadequate in a number of ways. They are often not constructed to answer the questions most likely to be asked and therefore cannot produce information for important administrative initiatives. For example, there is a tendency to collect service input information while neglecting service outcome data. Further, they produce data that is often unreliable, underreported or not comparable for different segments of the organization. Nor do data collection procedures and analysis take advantage of available technologies. These problems are cumulative and result in records being an inadequate source of information for administrators and practitioners. In view of these problems, many professionals and service staff give service program accounting low priority compared to other work activities. In turn, there is little utilization of data in program evaluation and decision making.

Faced with the problems of collecting and analyzing large amounts of data, the social and behavioral sciences have adopted or developed techniques for collecting, coding and analyzing data efficiently. Further, these activities can be simplified and accelerated through the use of automatic data processing equipment. In addition, researchers should be adept at drawing out implications of the data in terms of the theoretical or practical administrative problems under consideration.

Interorganizational Relations

Development of the research role in a service organization should result in improved interorganizational relations and hence

greater ability to secure cooperation, support and resources from other organizations. In addition, the organization's ability to establish and maintain a high level of visibility and accountability in its interorganizational environment should be improved.

Support and Resources from Other Organizations: Organizations do not operate in a vacuum and problems are not confined to the relation between the providers and beneficiaries of service. An organization is located in a network of other organizations, some of which are essential not only to its service mission but to its very survival. Also, its relationship with these organizations may alternatively be competitive or cooperative. In a complex field such as rehabilitation, in which private organizations and public agencies at all levels of government are interrelated, a great deal of energy can be devoted to establishing and maintaining interorganizational relationships. For example, a service organization may over time act as: a training center for the staff of other organizations; a research setting for a university based study; and a service setting for the clients of other organizations. Similarly, a service organization may over time seek funding or other kinds of support from a variety of organizations; advocate client interests with other organizations; share in the division of labor for providing services to a given client population; and provide consultation and information for area, regional and national coordinating and planning agencies.

In many of the roles the researcher plays he must establish and maintain relationships with a number of organizations on behalf of his employer's interests. Many of these relationships contribute to the organization's competitiveness in the struggle for scarce resources. This is not surprising. These relationships, both formal and informal, provide channels for communication and hence become sources of information and means for influencing the activities of other organizations. Knowledge about the interests and priorities of other key organizations as well as appro-

priate procedures for relating to these organizations is especially critical. Without this knowledge it is extraordinarily difficult to develop cooperative programs, coordinate services or secure funds.

This may be illustrated by the Research and Development grant, which often requires cooperative relationships with both public and private organizations. In order to secure an R & D, a service organization must often present its program to state, regional and national levels of a funding agency. Similarly, the promise of the program may be contingent upon both mobilizing various kinds of expertise and coordinating activities with other community organizations. Hence, relations may have to be established with a nearby university and service may have to be coordinated with various referring organizations in the community. It may also be necessary to secure approval from neighborhood and other citizen, client, and political groups. Through channels of communication established with other organizations, the researcher can determine which organizations will be most likely to fund a given program, identify the best way to present ideas and develop the grant package, determine the details and procedures necessary for submitting application, develop mechanisms for coordinating services with other key organizations, and secure approval and support from appropriate publics. These activities not only increase the probability that a given program will be approved for funding but that it will be accepted by referring organizations, client groups and others who may believe that their interests are either furthered or compromised by its implementation.

Accountability and Visability: Service organizations are accountable to a number of publics and decision making bodies. These may include its own board of directors, the client community, client referring agencies, several funding agencies, coordinating and accrediting bodies and the community in which the organization is located. While it remains true that humanitarian

goals are generally offered as a justification for a program's existence, the social service field has moved toward accountability based upon systematic assessment of psychological, social and economic outcomes. Further, the ability of an organization to "give a good accounting of itself" has become increasingly important as resources have become scarce, competition for those that exist has become more fierce, and public confidence in the ability of the helping professions has deteriorated. Public and decision making bodies ask: "What proof is there that a program works?" "How much does it cost?" and "Is it worth the cost?" Hence, administrators are increasingly faced with the task of having to supply data that essentially divides the total cost of a program by the number of successful client outcomes.

These changes in the demands made upon a service organization have greatly increased the need for evaluation and the analysis and presentation of records according to more scientific standards. These are activities which call for research related knowledge and skills. The researcher can contribute to and demonstrate the organization's effectiveness to those whose resources and cooperation are required by: quantifying what is being done; measuring program outcomes by documenting whether or not change has occurred as a result of rendered services; and developing measures of the relationship between client benefits and program service costs. These contribute to public confidence in the organization and its programs and insures support and additional resources for growth. Wilensky (1956, p. 55) in his analysis of the functions and net effect of intellectuals in labor unions came to similar conclusions. As union operations and negotiations moved from "table-pounding to fact-finding" there was need for the "facts and figures man" to supply ideas and data for the union case. He concluded that the net effect was "to push the union toward a more 'rational,' and 'responsible' mode of operation." These same forces operating in the social service field have increased organizational reliance on the researcher to present its

case and justify its operations. The researcher provides data, some of the idiological arguments, and the skills in writing and presenting ideas that communicate this message of the organization and its programs.

A closely related aspect of the researcher's roles involves increased visibility of the organization and its programs to various publics. While it may be true that "good work is all that matters," it is also true that an organization's public image and relations are important if it is to be used by clients and attract good personnel and support (e.g., board members, grants, etc.). While public relations is somewhat outside the interests of the researcher, in several ways he can be instrumental in increasing the visibility and enhancing the image of the organization, especially at the national and professional levels.

First, one benefit of having a research position in a service organization is the enhancement of the organization's prestige vis-a-vis other similar organizations. This is especially true in rehabilitation facilities, few of which have a strong tradition of research.

Second, and more important, increasing the visibility of the agency is a product directly or indirectly of the research enterprise. The image of the organization as well as specific knowledge concerning its activities must be communicated to organizations and persons who are in a position to lend support. The researcher's publications, reports, and conference papers describe the organization's programs and this, in turn, helps justify its claim to high standards of professional practice. It may be added that visibility also has important consequences for internal facility operations insofar as it increases morale and staff commitment to the organization and its goals.

Contributions to the Professional Field

The essential rationale for establishing a research role in a service organization is to improve the effectiveness of programs

and the quality of service. Previous sections have shown how the researcher in various roles can contribute to these goals within the organization and its interorganizational environment. Equally as important, the researcher can contribute to the goals of the rehabilitation field by narrowing the gap between practice and both theory and research and contributing to the body of knowledge that supports rehabilitation practice.

Narrowing the Gap Between Practice, Theory and Research: The gap between theory and research, on the one hand, and practice on the other, seems to be forever with us. Referring to the estrangement of theory and practice, Galileo declared that those who like to theorize about nature ought to go into the shops and shipyards and watch artisans and mechanics at work. Similarly, in rehabilitation, those who theorize and do research about human behavior and institutions seem to be detached from those who work with people. This is hardly surprising in view of the separation and concentration of researchers and trainers in university settings and practitioners in service settings. Nor is this separation purely organizational. More important, the individuals who work in these settings are differentiated by the values they share and the norms that govern their behavior.

Of course, the thought that practitioners might contribute in university and college settings and researchers might contribute in service settings is not new or untried. It has, however, failed to be institutionalized sufficiently to ensure the union of research, theory and practice. Hence, the researcher in a service organization, because of his close proximity to practice, is in a position to ensure that research is grounded in the world to which it is intended to contribute. He can do this in two ways: by tailoring his own research to the needs of the practitioner and by translating practitioner interests and problems into research ideas and problems for rehabilitation and related disciplines.

Just as researchers and theorists have been detached from

practitioners, the latter often seem oblivious to the source of knowledge and ideas that form the basis for practice. Practitioners utilize theoretical formulations to make hypotheses about the nature and etiology of disabilities and the type of intervention needed to produce desired change. These theoretical notions guiding practice, however, quite often are implicit, unsystematic and unorganized. This makes it difficult to recognize inconsistencies and select key elements to improve upon or test. It is also largely impossible to adapt such crude formulations to other organizational and community settings.

One important contribution of the social scientist in the field of rehabilitation may be to help provide theoretical frameworks which organize the important factors in the rehabilitation process. In this process one of the important aspects of the role of the researcher is to "follow" and observe practitioners in the rehabilitation situation. His goal is to provide theories which explain the relationship between intervention of a particular type and rehabilitation outcomes. He utilizes theories from the social and behavioral sciences to help tease out those factors which seem to be critical to the process of change as well as those which provide the context for the process. Once ideas are stated in a theoretical manner they can be tested and rejected or modified. Theories may point to contradictions or suggest new insights by pointing to logical extensions of practice techniques or procedures. The contribution of the researcher to the integration of practice, theory and research, then, is twofold: the researcher links research and theory to the world of practice; and provides theory which allows practitioners to organize practice and see the relationship between critical variables in the rehabilitation process.

Contributions to Knowledge: It was noted earlier that the researcher functions as a communication link between practitioners, the practice field, and related scientific disciplines. As a receiver and interpreter of information the researcher can promote

the utilization of new knowledge and have a major impact on the internal functioning of the organization and its programs. Equally as significant, the researcher can provide the facility with an opportunity to contribute significantly to knowledge not only in the area of rehabilitation practice but to scientific knowledge in psychology, sociology, and other related disciplines as well. This can be done both through the dissemination of research results and program evaluation findings produced within the organization and its use to test and demonstrate new programs. The organization with research capabilities is a particularly appropriate environment for testing new ideas and innovative programs as well as doing more basic research on the dynamics of human behavior. The scientist can contribute to the profession of rehabilitation and to his scientific discipline in the theory building-research process. When theory and fact do not match he can contribute to theory building by either modifying the theory to fit the facts or developing a new set of formulations which can better account for the phenomena in question.

The linking of information utilization and dissemination roles in one organizational position, that of in-house researcher, may provide one solution to the dissemination-utilization problems which plague fields of practice and their related scientific disciplines. It is in service organizations where new programs must be tested and where the everyday practice of rehabilitation comes to life. In publications and in the presentation of papers at professional meetings, applied research results can be communicated to a wide audience of rehabilitation personnel. Further, the researcher can collaborate with service personnel, and, by contributing his conceptual, organizational, and writing skills, can promote practitioner oriented publications. In this manner, practitioner knowledge and problems are communicated to professionals and researchers, and practitioner interests are translated into problems that are relevant to researchers. The in-house researcher's position as a communication link between research and practice serves both

the service organization and its larger field of practice. Information is taken in to be utilized in program design, and evaluative research and other research findings are communicated through these same channels to practitioners and researchers in other settings.

IV. Alternative Orientations to The Research Role

While it is not fully apparent from the preceding chapters, the development of research roles and their impact largely reflects the professional inclinations and aspirations of the role incumbent and the goals of administrators, as well as unique historical circumstances. These factors, for the most part, will account for differences in the research role developed in other service organizations or at other points in time. Historical circumstances are largely uncontrollable, leaving the understandings that result from interaction between the researcher and administrators as the foundation upon which the research role is built.

It has been shown that the researcher may assume a variety of roles which develop and are differentiated through interaction with practitioners, administrators, academic colleagues, government functionaries and others. It might be imagined, therefore, that insofar as the researcher's repertoire of roles grows out of interaction with others, there is considerable agreement about his activities. This may or may not be true. The number or diversity of roles is not as important as the degree of concordance between the perceived priority of these roles by the researcher and the organizations' personnel. In this chapter we discuss several alternative general orientations to the research role. These orientations define the nature of the researcher's work by identifying some roles as salient and others as peripheral. In addition, they order the researcher's relationship with a variety of others, both within and outside the service organization.

Alternatives

Consider the following questions: Which activity takes primacy, the development of services or the conduct of research?

Should research be directed toward improving the organization's programs or broad theoretical questions? Who shall determine the goals and strategies of rehabilitation programs? Should the researcher's activities be geared to the organization, his profession or field of rehabilitation? These questions call attention to the basic orientations of the researcher's activities, the nature of his involvement in the host organization and to the nature of that organization's expectations toward his role. The answers to these questions, of course, will normally lie somewhere between the either-or extremes and will reflect a general orientation that orders the repertoire of roles into a constellation consisting of several core and many peripheral roles. The concordance between the roles the researcher most invests himself in and those the organization defines as primary is important.

Research vs. Development of Services: Just as research is valued among scientists, development is a valued activity among laymen and practitioners. Research and development, however, are different and often competing activities. Research is a systematic and controlled process of observation and reason directed toward the solution of problems. Development is the process of growth toward some desired end and usually implies evolution toward a larger, better or fuller state. The linkage of research and development provides the opportunity for an organization to expand its services and support research with broad significance. But in a setting where the value of serving people is paramount, how should resources be allocated between research and development? Or, when research and development funds are scarce, should the researcher pursue research or emphasize development regardless of whether a research component is attached? Development usually involves the expansion of direct services and hence responds to the service priority of organizations. Research, on the other hand, while a less direct approach to helping clients, contributes to the body of knowledge which may eventually be translated into improved services.

There are social scientists who are committed to the expansion of knowledge and others who are committed to the application of knowledge for ameliorative purposes. Similarly, an administrator may be primarily interested in developing more and better services or interested in extensive participation, through research, in the rehabilitation movement. Hence, an emphasis on research or alternatively an emphasis on providing expanded and perhaps more innovative services are two orientations to the research role.

Basic vs. Applied Research: Just as the meaning of research is highly elastic, the distinction between basic and applied research (to which many scientists object) is often difficult to articulate. Nevertheless, the distinction is an important one in settings where the research role is not clearly defined. The National Science Foundation refers to basic research as "original investigations for the advancement of scientific knowledge." Such research is not intended to solve the problems or answer the questions of host organizations, although it may be of potential utility to these organizations. Applied research, on the other hand, focuses on problems posed by the host organization and is intended to contribute to the solutions of organizational problems (Vollmer, 1972). Research may, of course, have both basic and applied implications, but in most cases a general orientation can be identified. In the case of basic research, it is thought that findings will ultimately benefit society, while in the case of applied research, findings are directed toward the solution of immediate problems.

Administrators and practitioners responding to demands for service may not be oriented toward research for its own sake nor impressed by vague references to ultimate long range benefits to society and mankind. The majority of scientists (even those presently engaged in applied research), on the one hand, express a strong preference for basic research (Vollmer, 1972). Academic values and norms and the entire socialization process encompassing scientific education probably account for this. As opposing alter-

natives to the research role, however, this is potentially a source of strain between the researcher and others in the service organization.

Change Agent vs. Technical Resource: Individual and social change is the business pursued in rehabilitation settings and regardless of orientation the agency researcher will almost surely be involved in services designed to promote change. There are, however, several modes of involvement in the programs of a service organization. At one extreme the researcher assumes a supportive or engineering role, using his technical skills to formulate grant applications, construct some of the tools needed to carry out and evaluate programs and perhaps writing reports for appropriate funding agencies. This is essentially a passive stance in that he accepts the administrator's or practitioner's definition of the problem, ameliorative strategy, and criteria for evaluation. At the other extreme, the researcher assumes primary responsibility for identifying problems to be treated as compelling and "relevant," constructing programmatic strategies to ameliorate these problems, and defining criteria to evaluate the efficacy of such stratgies. This role is active, rather than a resource person to policy makers and practitioners, the researcher is the primary agent of change — determining the direction and means of social programs.*

There would seem to be some variability in the expectations both administrators and researchers have regarding the latter's involvement in services or social action programs. A scientist who is interested in research for its own sake may prefer being an aloof observer of service programs while at the same time recognizing that he must contribute some technical resources in order to "pay his way" in a service organization. Also, the social science researcher is often sensitive to the tentative nature of his knowledge about social structures and social processes, and may be unwilling

*This is similar to Gouldner's (1956, pp. 5-22) distinction between engineering and clinical approaches to research in non-academic settings.

to act upon that knowledge. On the other hand, a scientist with activist humanitarian inclinations may seek the opportunity to shape the goals and means of change through his involvement in social action programs. As for practitioners, some may welcome the initiatives of the researcher while those with a strong sense of mission may simply want technical skills and the implicit legitimization of the scientific researcher (cf., Bynder, 1966).

Organization vs. Profession: The research role is linked both to a local setting, the host organization, and a cosmopolitan setting, a profession. The latter may include a scientific discipline such as sociology or psychology and several substantive fields such as rehabilitation, corrections or social gerontology. While research is conducted within an organization, the years of socialization into a scientific discipine often render professional norms and values most salient. To the degree that this is true, the researcher may have a strong cosmopolitan orientation in the sense that he is committed to his scientific profession rather than to an employing organization, to a scientific career rather than an organizational career with attendant management and related responsibilities, and to the advancement of knowledge and publication of findings in certain professional journals rather than solution of the specific problems of the organization. In such a case, scientific colleagues rather than coemployees or administrators of the organization constitute his most significant work reference group. On the other hand, a researcher may have a "local" orientation in the sense that he is committed to his employing organization and a career in that or a similar organization, is interested in the solution of specific practical problems of the organization, and has his coemployees and administrators as a significant reference group.

In terms of the above alternatives, at one extreme, the social scientist may be primarily profession oriented: committed to research, especially basic research, and contributing only supportive technical skills to service project designs and the search for funds.

Even evaluative research on service projects may be of little interest to him. At the other extreme is the social scientist committed to the development and expansion of services, engaged only in applied research, interested in determining the direction and strategies of service programs, and committed to the organization.

Some Possible Problems

For several reasons researchers and administrators will often not initially share the same orientations to research and related role activities. This is true because of the potential conflict between organizational interests and professional norms. We believe that researchers will usually be cosmopolitan in orientation, and that administrators and practitioners will generally seek a greater commitment to the host organization. The nearer the researcher is to the university in terms of career development, either as student or faculty member, the more likely he will be cosmopolitan, resist greater integration into the organization's structure and resent encroachment upon what he sees as his professional autonomy. And, the more uncertain an organization is of its role in the service delivery system, the greater will be its demand for commitment and need for control.

Herbert Bynder's article (1966) "Sociology in a Hospital: A Case Study in Frustration" is an extreme case of what can happen in a service organization (in this case the social service department of a hospital) when the research role has not been institutionalized, the host is unfamiliar with social scientific research and administrators demand non-threatening findings.*

Research, because it may uncover "unanticipated consequences" of service projects or administrative decisions or result in findings which are inconsistent with wishes, is an activity that may

*Bynder is quoted extensively to demonstrate the kinds of problems that can arise in service settings.

run counter to the values or perceived interests of organizations. Bynder notes:

> "The relative security of an action profession, which is a product of its acceptance by society and the prestige which it enjoys, will undoubtedly influence the extent to which it will encourage and utilize scientific research.
>
> "Social work has not made social science research an important aspect of its educational program, nor has it incorporated research within its practice area. One of the reasons for this, I believe, is that social work demands commitment to its values and goals before it will accept the social scientist.
>
> "As a social scientist, however, I was *also* committed to the values of scientific investigation. Indeed, it was as a social scientist that I expected to make my major contribution to an action program. . . . In retrospect, it seems that the administrators of the social service department who were hiring me were probably more aware than I of potential clash between social science and social work, for many of their comments indicated a belief that only a social worker-researcher would place a commitment to social work above all else: only a social agency employing this type of person could be assured of 'desirable' research, anticipated findings, and consequences nonthreatening to the agency."

In the absence of confidence in the researcher's commitment, the organization may seek to control the researcher and his activities. On the organization's perceived need for control of the researcher, Bynder notes:

> "While some research activity had previously been carried out in the department, the social service unit had never worked with a person devoted to full-time research. Lacking an appropriate role model for me, I was expected to fit the role model of the agency social worker. In consequence, conflicts between expectations of a social worker's behavior and that of a social scientist, especially in the area of social control, become a constant and an increasingly serious source of dispute between myself and the administration of the department."
>
> "Accountability of place and time was the most disturbing control. Along with the social work staff, I had to sign in at a reception desk and indicate the time of my arrival. Whenever I left my office, I had to indicate my destination.

> "The attempt to control my time extended to the request that I keep a statistical count of my activities.
>
> "Because time, rather than product, becomes the measure of control, there is a tendency to become engaged in 'make-work,' i.e., activities whose prime purpose is to fill time. Since the weekly meeting with my supervisor was the occasion for demonstrating 40 hours of production for 40 hours of work, I gradually found myself more concerned about showing tangible increments in my work than in being primarily concerned about the quality of the increments thus produced.
>
> "This was a difficult problem to handle, for there is no way to measure whether a piece of creative work *should* have taken 4 hours, 40 hours or 400 hours of work. The problem was compounded because one engaged in research is also supposed to think, and it is difficult in an action setting to account for time spent thinking. While no one ever told me to think on my own time, it would not have been an unlikely comment, for social workers who entered my office would leave with puzzled looks when they found me 'just sitting there.' Thinking is not a tangible use of time, and, therefore, could not be accepted in an agency which measured work in terms of clients interviewed, physicians contacted, meetings attended, and pages written."

On the organization's perceived need to control research activities:

> "Before long, I discovered that not only was I subordinated to an administrative superior in administrative matters, but, more crucially, in research matters as well. . . . Even if exercised by a colleague, this type of control would be an unstable factor in any professional relationship. It was particularly unstable when exercised by one not specifically competent in the area of research.
>
> "An additional source of difficulty for me in this action setting centered around the question of who was to make the decisions about which problems to study. The social service department reserved this right; that is, control over the direction of research was to rest with the social work staff and not with the social scientist . . . the reasons (had) to do with professional security."

Hence, while the contribution of the researcher may be substantial, there are no guarantees of success. In fact, the obstacles to success are considerable. This is hardly surprising in view of

the norms of science, inadequate university preparation of the researcher for non-academic roles, certain characteristics of bureaucratic service organizations and the demands for commitment to social movement values.

But while both the researcher and administrator are inevitably faced with problems and there may be basic differences between their perspectives, it is not difficult to accept both perspectives as legitimate. Surely a researcher should be true to the norms of science, and surely administrators should seek to further organizational goals. The critical factor is not whether one alternative is selected over another but whether there is concordance between the researcher's preference and the needs and interests of the organization and its administrators and practitioners. How the problems are experienced and resolved determines whether the research role can be productive for both the researcher and the service organization. The following two chapters look systematically at these problems from the researcher's and administrator's perspectives and seek to provide the broad outlines of a model for ensuring an effective contractual understanding between them. Recommendations for solutions to the problems raised in this and subsequent sections of the monograph are presented in the last chapter.

V. Researcher Problems and Strategies

A 1959 Russell Sage Foundation survey of social scientists employed in non-academic settings found that they experienced three major types of problems: (1) a lack of clearly defined expectations for their roles, (2) uncertainty over their status in the organization, and (3) role conflict as a result of competing organizational and professional goals (Riley, 1967). The first of these problems is in part the rationale for the project that this report describes. We have attempted to define the research role and identify the expectations that researchers are asked to meet. It is the third problem, role conflict, and the hiatus between universities and service organizations, that remains problematic.*

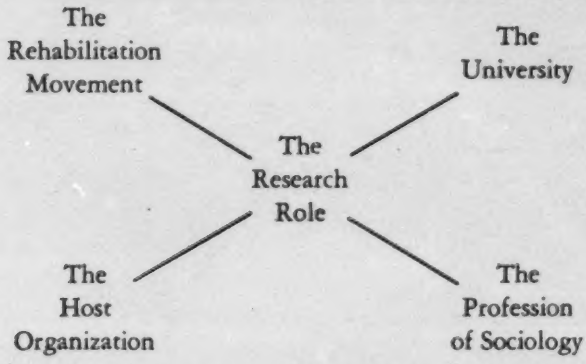
Social science researchers are generally individuals trained in the university for an academic career. In their service organization roles they become part of a non-academic organization pursuing activities which, as in the case of rehabilitation, are part of a larger social movement. The researcher, then, is at the center of a network of influences which may or may not be complimentary.

*The second problem, that of status within the host organization, is beyond the scope of this report and is therefore not dealt with directly. However, factors related to the status of the researcher in service organizations include the prestige of other professional groups, the centrality of research to organizational goals, and the source of funding support for the researcher's position. Several factors contribute to the researcher's elevation to high rank and prestige in service organizations. First, within the organization, fund raising and development (grantsmanship) are highly valued. Second, publications in practice journals and the presentation of papers at professional meetings increase the organization's visibility in the practice field where researchers are in scarce supply. It may be added, however, that this prestige is generally not transferable, or more specifically is only indirectly transferable, to the world of academically oriented science.

Figure 2 represents the research role at the center of four sources of influence: the host organization, rehabilitation movement, profession and university. Any of the researcher's activities may be placed on this matrix according to its value for each of the sources of influence. Basic research, for example, may best represent the activity with the greatest common although not necessarily equivalent value. Other activity may have value for a single source of influence. Grantsmanship, for example, to the degree that it is directed toward the support of service programs has value primarily for the host organization.

FIGURE 2

SOURCES OF INFLUENCES ON THE RESEARCH ROLE: THE CASE OF THE SOCIOLOGIST IN REHABILITATION



Each of these spheres of influence exerts pressures on the incumbent of the research role. These pressures, however, may be in conflict. The demands of a profession, for example, may be counterposed to those of a social movement and the roles learned in the university may be dysfunctional for work in a service organization. However, it is the relationship between the service organization (including its interpretation of social movement values and

activities), on the one hand, and the university as the locus of professional values, on the other hand, that is the major source of strain for the in-house non-academic researcher. Inasmuch as most social science researchers are in the university and all are trained there, it would be expected that any deviation from the university model will require adjustments on the part of the researcher unless he decides to relinquish academic values in favor of those of the service organization.

The University Model

The most valued activity among scientists is the development of knowledge through research and the formal dissemination of this knowledge through scientific papers and publications. The ideal image here is that of a scientist doing research and presenting his findings to a community of colleagues. This communal nature of a scientific discipline is important to the understanding of what motivates research activities, nor is it surprising in view of the values, theories, techniques and problems shared by members of a discipline (Blume and Sinclair, 1973).

Science consists of a well articulated system of invidious differences, not only between scientists, but between settings where science is practiced. Publication of research findings and theoretical statements and the prestige of the host university or college are the major criteria by which rank is assigned in the university community. Other things being equal, the sociologist at a recognized university is more highly regarded than his counterpart at a lesser known institution. The service organization is either not generally ranked within this system or is considered less prestigious. The reasons for this distinction seem to center on the value of basic as opposed to applied research. While sociologists have mixed feelings about the practicality of research, "applied" research particularly when conducted outside the university is not highly valued. In fact, one criteria for judging whether research

is "pure" or "applied" seems to be the organizational setting where it is conducted. Research in the university or by university based scientists is more pure by association and research in a service setting is more applied by association.

Related to the value of basic research is the value of communicating research findings through professional journals. Gaston (1970, p. 718) notes that "the production of scientific papers and publications is important . . . because it is to a large extent a measure of the degree to which scientists are indeed *scientists* . . . and if publication of scientific papers is an indication of scientists' worth . . then some scientists are apparently worth more than others." But here again there are important status differences. Judgments are made according to the rank of the particular journal on a scale which is generally accepted among the scholars working in a given field. Practice oriented journals are ranked low according to this scheme and in the academic community may be taken as an indicator of worldliness and a lack of commitment to science. Hence, while the host service organization and funding agencies may value publication in practice oriented journals, these works may not be recognized as legitimate scholarship by some in the academic community.

In addition, university scholars are suspicious of the non-academic as non-scholarly. In its most extreme sense, this academic purism involves an element of contempt. A recent example of this is provided by an American Sociological Society discussion group (Footnotes, Feb., 1973) considering the need to prepare students for non-university positions. It was emphasized that " . . . the provision of training for non-academic sociologists must not be allowed to dilute the training standards for the discipline generally." This seems to imply that in view of an impending oversupply of sociologists it may be expedient to seek alternative employment settings, but that somehow this is undesirable and may compromise the standards of the profession. It is equally

as telling that those who subscribe to such presumptions are not called upon to support them. While it is beyond the scope of this report to speculate about the impact of this view, suffice it is say that; it discourages researchers from seeking employment outside the university and it surely presents a problem of coping with "second class" professional citizenship for those who do find such employment.

Perhaps a more difficult problem for the service organization researcher is that because his institutional affiliation is not highly valued by the community of scholars to which he retains a strong attachment, he is on the fringe of his profession. The kinds of work the service organization researcher is likely to do is often devalued by colleagues. More important, the situation is self perpetuating. Because service organizations have not been able to attract top researchers, the quality and quantity of publications on the average does not compare favorably.

Finally, to the degree that fellow scientists are concentrated in academic settings, a major problem for the non-academic researcher is isolation from colleagues. Although the popular image of the scholar is that of a socially and professionally independent individual working in a laboratory or library carrel, this does not convey the social nature of science. One of the reasons the university is a valued work place is because it offers community. There are several reasons for this. A researcher's scientific self is largely dependent upon his relationship (actual or perceived) to a limited group of fellow scientists whom he sees as competent to respond to his work — his competitors and potential collaborators (Hagstrom, 1965, 1967; Storer, 1966; Mullins, 1968). In fact, the principal indicator of professional worth and the main reward of scholarship is recognition by these and other colleagues. Also, colleagueship offers not only the opportunity to exchange ideas and collaborate, but the opportunity for friendship among persons involved in similar endeavors. Most service organizations are

unlikely to employ more than a single researcher, however.* In the conduct of scientific inquiry, then, the service organization researcher will often not have the informal consultation of colleagues immediately available to him. This may be especially problematic as he enters new and relatively unfamiliar areas of research in pursuit of organizational goals.

The Service Organization

Just as the researcher may be on the fringe of the scientific and professional community, for different reasons he may be a peripheral person in the service organization as well. The researcher assuming a newly created role in a service organization will be faced with a situation that is to a greater or lesser degree undefined. While there are several reasons for this, as noted above, the important point is that others in the organization share different perspectives and definitions of research and some of these are inconsistent with those held by the researcher.‡ This creates some problems.

First within service organizations there are no generally agreed upon conceptions of research and hence no definitive prescriptions of what researchers should do. Administrators and practitioners often value those aspects of the research role, such as grant writing and record keeping, which are not research but which produce immediate rewards for the organization. Further, what practitioners and administrators see as research the university

*This, of course, need not always be true. The research department at VGRS, for example, has at various times been larger than some small academic departments.

‡This, of course, does not suggest that cross patterns are absent in the university setting. In the university, for example, the competing pressure of teaching and student involvement, on the one hand, and research and career development, on the other, must be resolved. Similarly, the definition of what constitutes research is not clearly established in various university settings.

researcher may see as "social accounting" or program description. Outside the organization, coordinating agencies in the social service and rehabilitation field have a tendency to equate research with program planning, record keeping, and liaison activities with their organization. Similarly, funders place value on the initiation of service or research programs and liaison activities with their organizations.

Just as the word research is elastic, the expected outcomes of research are highly variable. The researcher who assumes administrative responsibility for service statistics may be expected by a practitioner to know what services a particular client received. Or the director of a service project may expect the researcher to be familiar with alternative sources and procedures for funding. Still others may expect the researcher to articulate *how* (as opposed to evaluate *if*) a given service strategy is effective.

Second, the researcher may find his performance and worth judged in terms of several alternative sets of competing criteria. For example, research which results in the publication of "mainstream sociology" and in which he takes some professional pride, may be greeted with relative indifference in a service organization. While scientific publication is the major means for career advancement in sociology it may not be highly regarded by practitioners, particularly if it conflicts with valued activities from the viewpoint of the organization. From this standpoint, time spent in scientific writing may be viewed as a lack of commitment to the organization and its pressing problems. Similarly, "basic" research intended to contribute to a body of theoretical knowledge may not be valued as much as research with an immediate bearing on practice. In other words, a product that is consistent with the norms of his profession may have to be defended, especially if the organization does not have a strong research tradition.

Finally, there is apt to be a degree of anti-intellectualism in all service organizations. The helping professions, and rehabili-

tation in particular, are often eager to plunge ahead with projects of social amelioration with little preparatory research or evaluative review. The problems of people are commonly thought to require immediate action, without the delay and encumbrance of rigorous study. The research role, then, is partially shaped by what Young (1962) has called the "popular view that social questions are best answered by common sense and a warm heart."

Some Additional Problems

With the proliferation of knowledge the labor in science has been divided and subdivided into theoretical areas, substantive concentrations and even further by methodological approaches. A number of forces including the sheer weight of past and current work in an area, and the complexity of problems compel the scientist to narrow his research interests. Also it is thought that continuity of research in a theoretically defined problem area will facilitate greater contributions to knowledge. Accordingly, specialization is a major trend in modern science. The academic researcher is relatively free to specialize in a particular narrow line of research and to follow his theoretical and substantive interests wherever they might lead. Accordingly, it is not uncommon for scholars to develop small informal colleagual communities concerned with the same problems. These scientists often share feelings of psychological closure as a result of having mastered past and current work related to a given problem.

In contrast the needs of the service organization require the researcher to specialize in the substantive area related to the organization's concerns, such as social rehabilitation, and at the same time become a generalist in his field. In fact, he must often become interdisciplinary in the utilization of research knowledge. At any given time he may be collaborating with individuals with diverse professional backgrounds on several studies, each of which require widely divergent theoretical or methodological expertise.

In addition, he may not have time to fully develop the scientific implications of his research or fully exploit collected data before organization needs require new initiatives and mastery of new bodies of substantive knowledge.

Another fact of professional life, which may be viewed as problematic by some scientists relates to the selection of research topics. When working in a service organization opportunities for research are obviously conditioned by organizational interests and work demands. It is unlikely, for example, that a researcher will be able to study the life styles of corporate managers while working in a setting with a poverty community clientele. Further, he must be concerned with the practical applications of research. For those scholars who value the traditional independence to pursue scientific curiosity where it may lead without considering practical applications this may be difficult. And in many cases, the applied nature of the program and the evaluative aspects of the research may only permit the writing of articles that cannot be considered mainstream sociology. The dissemination of these findings presents the researcher with a dilemma: professional journals which he is most likely to read are often unlikely to accept his findings, whereas practitioner journals, which he is unlikely to read, are most likely to accept his work. Hence, as noted earlier, he is likely to publish in less scholarly journals, his work may be of little interest to many colleagues, and may in fact be referred to as "social accounting"; often with more than a hint of scorn.

Finally, we should briefly call attention to the different styles of work that are called for in the service organization as against those which are more customary in the university. In the university time schedules are for the most part left up to the professor, where aside from teaching at certain times and some committee meetings, he determines his daily work routine. His work or commitment to his university or college is measured not so much in terms of inputs but in terms of outputs (e.g., publications,

papers presented, etc.). However, most service organizations maintain strict daily work schedules, staff are expected to be in certain places at particular times, and much of what researchers may do is not defined as work. As was apparent in the Bynder (1956) article, activities that are legitimate in an academic setting, such as the reviews of professional literature and lengthy exchanges of ideas with colleagues, may be problematic in service organizations.

Researcher Adaptations

It should be clear from the above that the in-house researcher must somehow accommodate the norms he has learned at the university and the demands of the service organization. This accommodation is possible to the degree that he recognizes and accepts the fact that his career is divided into two lines which do not fully overlap. If this is accepted, several adjustments are necessary.

First, the researcher must recognize and accept the service organization's interests. Those who cannot accept these interests as the basic guide to their research activities should not seek employment in service organizations. Being geared to organizational goals, of course, involves some loss of what is usually thought of as professional autonomy. For example, he may have to forego the prerogative of being able to define the direction of his activities or the determination of how he will conduct research (cf., Bynder). In a service organization, the problems of the host take precedence over what may be intellectually intriguing to the researcher. On the other hand, the content of research in a given service organization is sufficiently predictable so that the prospective researcher will know before hand whether the problems of the host coincide closely enough with his own areas of scientific interest so that he can pursue his interests and the practical interests of the host at the same time. Also, when charged with carrying out some organizationally defined applied investigation the

researcher can seek ways to "bootleg" his own interests -- that is, simultaneously include a more basic investigation of his own concerns (Greenberg, 1966). This provides for greater congruence between organizational needs and researcher interests and may result in significant contributions to scientific knowledge.

Second, the researcher must seek to accommodate himself to both career lines. Hence, while being employed in a service organization, he may seek a university affiliation. This will provide him with colleagueship and a source of ideas and feedback for his research activities. It will also help him avoid feelings of dissonance and blunt the temptation to select one career line over the other by either going back to the university or becoming fully identified with the service organization and field of practice. Further, it will reinforce his identity with the norms and values of science.

Finally, the researcher in a service organization must respond to the audiences of both his career lines. Hence, he must publish in both fields of endeavor if he is to fulfill the requirements of his organizational and scientific roles.

It is, of course, apparent that these accommodations may for some individuals involve unacceptable compromise. The "academic elitist," for example, may be unsuitable for such a position. Yet, for the person who can maintain his scientific interests and identity, adjust to the judgements of his scientific colleagues and a more bureaucratic work style, and respond to the needs of the service organization, the accommodation is not only possible but may be professionally rewarding as well.

VI. Administrative Problems and Strategies

The addition of a new role within an organization or the pursuit of a new activity, while it affords an opportunity to better achieve organizational goals, may also create new problems and require several organizational adaptations. Hence, while the potential contribution of a research department may be considerable, it behooves administrators to anticipate some of the problems that addition of the research role may bring. Several essential areas of concern include: researcher commitment and recruitment; productivity; appropriate areas of investigation and the use of clients as subjects; and the credibility and use of research findings. The administrator who is cognizant of the potential problems subsumed above will be better able to structure the research role, articulate its expectations, and reach a satisfactory understanding with the new researcher.

Commitment and Recruitment: Administrators must generally attempt to generate commitment to organizational values and norms. Researchers, however, even more than other professionals, come to the setting with prior commitments to the norms and values of their scientific discipline. Kuhn (1962) notes that the values, theories, techniques, and problems of any discipline generate a sense of community which is largely insulated from outside influences.* Administrators, then, may anticipate that many researchers will be *in* but not *of* the organization.

The implications of low organizational commitment and the disjuncture between professional and organizational goals are not altogether clear. It is apparent that some of the researcher's activi-

*Other studies have also noted the communal nature of scientific disciplines (Hagstrom, 1965; Blume and Sinclair, 1973).

ties will address only organizational goals, others will address both organizational and scientific career goals and some will be exclusively career oriented. The lower the researcher's commitment to the host setting and the greater the disjuncture between professional and organizational norms, the greater will be his involvement in primarily career oriented activities. In some cases, there may also be a tendency toward exploitation of service organizations by academicians. When organizational goals are different from personal and professional interests, the former tend to be ignored or discounted. However, this seems to be more true of researchers not employed full time, especially when the problem on which they work is not clearly defined, the nature of their anticipated contribution is not well articulated, and there is no specified work timetable or written contract.

Recruiting a capable researcher who will satisfy both scientific and organizational goals may be problematic. For reasons discussed in preceding chapters, few service organizations can support a research department that is orientated primarily toward basic research, although this may be one of the researcher's activities. Yet, it is basic research which is a primary source of professional rewards, it is the activity pursued and valued by the researcher's academic peers, and the researcher's self-esteem is based upon how well his research compares with the research of those peers. Hence, some researchers may quickly become disenchanted in a service organization. Indeed, the cultural tradition of science may inhibit competent scientists from becoming involved in applied research (Vollmer, 1972). The contention that applied or basic research in a service organization is somehow less productive than applied or basic research in the university, while not having been demonstrated, surely discourages individuals from seeking research roles in such settings. Equally as problematic, the training in the social sciences does not equip the researcher with many of the values and skills needed in a service organization. He is traditionally trained for two roles, teaching and research, and has

been socialized to expect to perform these roles in the university setting. Thus, he enters the service organization equipped with certain role expectations which may not be satisfied in the role development process. The greater the disjuncture between the norms and values of the university and those of the service organization, the more difficult it will be to recruit and hold capable researchers.

Productivity: An organization, depending upon its own priorities, may expect several kinds of tanglible *productivity* from a researcher: more efficient record-keeping, development (new programs and increased dollar support), program evaluation, and the satisfaction of contractual obligations to other organizations (e.g., project reports). An important tangible outcome of the research role also consists of publications and research reports. The use of this as a measure of productivity, however, may be problematic. First, the administrator or practitioner seldom understands the amount of time it takes to do quality research. Even the researcher invariably underestimates the time needed to design a study, collect data, and disseminate findings through reports and papers. Second, research projects that are started often fail to bear fruit. It has been noted that "among those who do research, there is a high chance for ideas to be generated, a moderate chance for some data to be collected, and generally low chances for data to be formally analyzed, utilized and disseminated" (Lacks and Plax, 1972). Administrators, then, must seek to reduce the number of "false starts" while at the same time rocognizing that research is a lengthy and time consuming process. The problem can be partially overcome by removing competing demands on the researcher's time as much as possible and by making researchers accountable for the completion of research initiatives. One approach to accountability is through visibility. Researchers in one service organization, for example, posted a chart that identified the specific research efforts being pursued and the stages which had been completed (Lacks and Plax, 1972).

Research Topics and Subjects: What are legitimate areas of investigation in a service organization and who shall determine what these areas are? What are appropriate means of securing cooperation, for research purposes, of the consumers of that organization's services? And how should research be related to organizational interests? These questions should alert administrators and practitioners to several potentially delicate issues. The first involves organizational confidentiality. An example will illustrate the nature of this problem. One tradition of social science research has been described as "muckraking" — research which exposes and seeks to generate a moral outrage (Marx, 1972). Research in this tradition, when focused on organizations, often highlights a characteristic of many organizations — the displacement of stated goals with the goal of self-perpetuation. This presents an administrative question: Should the organization be an object of uncontrolled investigation? There is ample evidence that if the answer is yes, the organization runs the risk of being the "victim" of an exposé. If the answer is no, or the administrator reserves the right to review research designs and findings, this has its own attendant problems. Scientists value the independence which allows them to be guided by their curiosity. Doctrinaire limits imposed on their investigation will almost surely alienate the researcher from his host.

The second issue relates to clients who are the subjects of research. Social science research sometimes seems to contain a significant element of "voyeurism." And, when it involves human subjects the conduct of research will inevitably generate questions about privacy and the rights or welfare of clients. The Tuskegee research, a Public Health Service study to determine the effects of untreated syphilis, is an extreme example of the possibility for abuse. In service organizations, where clients are partially a captive subject group, cooperation as a research subject is often implied to be a condition of service. The administrator, then, must balance the need for information and the imperatives of research

designs against the rights and welfare of clients. While the answer to this question is beyond the scope of this report, the establishment of a review committee of persons representing various interests in the service organization is an effective way of protecting clients from inappropriate research designs and instruments.*

Finally, whether focusing on organizations or clients, much social science research seems esoteric, and is, insofar as its implications and value are only apparent to those of the profession. When this is true, research findings may not appear to be relevant to organizational goals or perhaps even to the field of rehabilitation. Given the fact that researchers often value the independence to pursue scientific problems without regard to the practical application of findings, the administrative problem concerns the designation of relevant research problems and audiences for the dissemination of findings.

The Credibility and Use of Findings: The scientist contributes to decision-making by providing, through his research findings, the knowledge upon which these decisions are made. Critics of applied sociology, however, have remarked that some of this work is so bad that it should never be paid for, let alone be transformed into practice. This is not surprising. In service organizations several characteristics of the research role may lead to compromises in the quality of research and reduce the credibility of findings.

First, for reasons discussed earlier, service organizations have not been able to attract the most able researchers. Second, service organizations have often precluded the most effective use of the researcher for reasons of professional and organizational security (cf., Bynder, 1956). Third, program evaluation has value only insofar as it is objective. Yet, the potential for compromising a critical and independent perspective is heightened when the researcher is involved in planning a project, has a significant role in

*This is now required by the Department of Health, Education and Welfare.

its management, must defend it internally to practitioners and administrators and externally to funding agencies, and is in any way involved in the project's public relations. Administrators and practitioners, must be sensitive to the nature of the researcher's involvement in the program. Finally, while the quality of published research is controlled by journal editors and collegial scrutiny, this is not true of research which is intended solely for "in-house" review by practitioners and administrators. If it is true that ". . . poor evaluation is far worse than no evaluation" (Davis, 1972), in the absence of alternative forms of "quality control," administrators often may not have full confidence in research findings and may want to proceed with caution before incorporating findings into decision-making processes.

Not only is the credibility of research findings an important administrative consideration, but other implications must also be considered. In considering what should be done with findings, administrators need to take account of the researcher's reactions to the disposition of his recommendations. Researchers are increasingly sensitive to the fact that findings that result from hard research efforts seem to produce little change of consequence. But, while the social scientist may press for certain policy decisions on the basis of scientific knowledge he is often not sensitive to the problems of implementing recommendations or the practical political consequences of policy decisions. As Zetterberg (1965) notes, "mistaken decisions have little consequence in the world of science; in that sense it is a gentle world." By contrast others "pay dearly in money, career, social disorder, and human lives for their mistakes."

A similar problem relates to *critical or negative findings.* Marx (1972) notes that: "If viewed from the perspective of some interest group, almost any social research may be critical." In view of the fact that rehabilitation is a social movement — a collective effort to bring about selected social change — the disquieting na-

ture of such findings can be anticipated. Like any social movement, it is guided by a set of strongly held values and beliefs; rarely is the question asked as to how effective rehabilitation strategies are.* The leaders of the rehabilitation movement similarly believe in the values of rehabilitation and have faith in its ultimate outcomes. Further, programs and ideas are frequently oversold, not only because leaders believe in them, but because substantial promises are often a condition of funding. The essence of research, especially evaluative research, however, is doubt and skepticism. It is not surprising that in general "evaluation highlights the fact that practitioners often think they can accomplish more for people than they can, in fact, accomplish" (Salasin, 1972, p. 2). Hence, "evaluation studies usually make the client (organization) look bad" (Davis, 1964, p. 217). Unless a researcher easily prostitutes himself, an administrator will eventually be faced with findings that point out gaps between values and actual practices, or between promises and outcomes, and questions about programs that may undermine established orthodoxies.

Administrative Accommodations

It is surely clear from the above that administrators of service organizations developing the research role will encounter problems. This is generally true of almost any worthwhile endeavor. Just as the promise may be significant, problems may be substantial. In the preceding section some of these problems and strategies for avoiding or solving them were discussed. The essential issue, however, as it was for the researcher, is the divergence of scientific norms and values and perceived organizational needs

*One need only examine the content of journals and other publications to gain a sense of this. For example, superlatives such as "miracle" are used with frequency. Also, others have noted that "research findings are generally not in the rehabilitation journals. Many journals consist predominantly of speeches given at rehabilitation meetings or articles discussing some thought-provoking issue in very vague and general terms" (Lacks and Plax, 1972).

and interests. As was apparent in the Bynder article (see Chapter IV), unless this can be overcome, research productivity is essentially precluded. And, just as it did for the researcher, this requires organizational accommodations.

Administrators, first, should recognize that colleagues and hence the source of many professional rewards are concentrated in the university. Hence, the greater the correspondence between organizational needs and research role expectations on the one hand and university norms and researcher career goals on the other, the less problematic researcher commitment is for the organization. The obvious solution from an administrative point of view is to recruit a researcher who shows a preference for applied research. To the degree that this is not possible, achieving the desired consonance between the administrator and researcher may require several administrative initiatives.

First, it must be recognized that the researcher is committed to discover and to understand, usually without primary corncern for the consequences of knowledge. He is also prone to seek alternative perspectives for viewing human activities. Hence, he can often be counted upon to provide the organization with findings and viewpoints which are inconsistent with practitioner or official views. The important point is that the organization stands to benefit from these views. Obviously, the organization which holds its views inviolate will not be able to fully benefit from the researcher's activities. Defensiveness will result in avoidance of essential problems in favor of innocent research pursuits, failure to explore the alternatives to various problems and failure to benefit from "negative" findings.

Just as an administrator can demand that a researcher be committed to the basic values underlying the organizations service program, in turn administrators and practitioners need to accommodate themselves to the values and norms of the scientific re-

search role. This involves providing the researcher with independence to pursue a variety of research problems, autonomy with regard to work style, and legitimacy for a skeptical and independent perspective. While it may be difficult for those in administrative positions to allow this freedom, the researcher's usefulness increases under these conditions. The degree of openness and defensiveness in an organization are the conditions which determine whether or not it will be a hospitable research environment and fully benefit from its research capabilities. For the organization that is unable to provide this it might be recommended that a full-time researcher not be be employed. Rather, consultants might be used for specific short term projects.

The last two chapters have identified some of the problems faced by researchers and administrators when they attempt to develop the research role in service organizations. We have tried to demonstrate that these problems are real and should be taken seriously. It should be equally as apparent that these problems are not surmountable, when well intentioned researchers, practitioners, and administrators recognized the needs and interests of others in the service organization. Indeed, it is difficult to escape the fact that the basic ingredient is a researcher who accepts the goals of the organization and wants to accommodate himself to the organization and an administrator who values the scientific perspective and wants to accommodate the organization to the needs of the researcher.

VII. Conclusions and Recommendations

In a service organization there are many roles that a researcher may play. In addition to conducting both basic and applied research, including program evaluation, he may function in the areas of program planning and design, administration, liaison with other organizations, record keeping, communication, education, and consultation. The impact of these various roles on the organization and its ability to achieve its goals may be seen at three levels. At the organizational level the researcher may contribute to improved program evaluation, more effective program planning and design, increased staff effectiveness, new initiatives in organizational development, more efficient decision-making and problem solving, and improved internal program accounting. At the interorganizational level the researcher may contribute to improved and more effective relations with other organizations, thereby increasing the ability of the host organization to secure support and cooperation. The researcher may also increase the organization's visibility and accountability with its various publics. Finally, the researcher can contribute to the professional field by helping to narrow the gap between practice and research and by adding to the body of knowledge that supports practice.

Until the research role becomes institutionalized in service organizations, however, there will always be a degree of role development necessary and perhaps some role conflict during that process. It has been the task of this monograph to identify the path the role development process may typically take, describe some alternatives, and discuss how some attendant problems may be

overcome. Most important, the development of the research role in a rehabilitation setting reflects the interplay between the administrator and practitioner staff, the role incumbent and relevant historical circumstances. Historical circumstances, especially the vagaries of government policy and action, are beyond the control of most organizations and individuals. The success of the research role in a service organization, then, is especially dependent upon the understanding and the concordance of interests between the chief administrator of the organization and the researcher.

Both the organization and the researcher begin with ideas about the roles a researcher may play, including which of these should be primary and which should be peripheral roles. While the administrator and the researcher may agree on the many things the researcher ought to be doing, however, a primary role from the organization's perspective may be a peripheral role from the researcher's perspective. To insure a concordance of interests there needs to be agreement as to the general orientation of the researcher's activities: whether these should emphasize research or development; whether they should be organization directed or profession directed; whether his activities should be autonomous and isolated or thoroughly integrated into the organization's service and administrative structure; and whether the researcher is an agent of change or a technical resource.

This report has attempted to recognize that the basic threat to the successful development and productivity of the research role stems from the fact that most service organizations have not institutionalized the research role and the university does not prepare researchers for employment in non-academic organizations. While the consequences of this hiatus are felt primarily by the researcher, administrator and practitioners in the host organization, the social sciences and the rehabilitation movement are also affected. Hence, recommendations should be addressed not only to the researcher, but to the four principal sources of influences of the research role.

The Host Organization

First, *there should be a greater emphasis on developing research capabilities in service organizations.* The main reason for this recommendation is that the relationship between service programs and client outcomes is the rationale for the very existence of a service organization. Systematic evaluation of programs by qualified researchers should replace anecdotal accounts of the "wondrous" things that happen to individual clients. In organizations with research capabilities, it is difficult enough to specify the nature of this relationship. More critical, however, in many organizations the nature of this relationship is not only essentially unknown, but little importance is attached to it. While it is recognized that research may strain the resources of some organizations, it should be remembered that the researcher can also contribute to organizational goals through many of his other roles.

Second, in development of the research role, *particular attention should be paid to clearly articulating the expectations of organizational practitioners and administrators.* This, more than anything else, will increase the probability of finding a researcher who is comfortable with organizational goals. Stated another way, researchers are unlikely to know specifically what kinds of contributions they can make to organizational goals. Hence, the organization should know what it wants from the research role. This is especially true with regard to non-research activities such as grant writing and liaison with other organizations.

Third, in development of the research role, *organizational administrators must accept the norms and values of science.* It should be expected that researchers will value the pursuit of knowledge without a primary regard to the uses of research findings, their impact on professional egos or their consistency with widely and strongly held beliefs. To pre-define areas of investigation or place doctrinaire limits on findings denies the researcher his greatest opportunity to contribute to the organization or to

science. The researcher's commitment to the norms and values of his scientific discipline and his own upward mobility in that system should be recognized not as lack of commitment to the organization but as goals and standards which serve to maintain the quality of his work for the organization.

The Researcher

First, *the in-house researcher must recognize and accept the service organization's goals and interests.* If he cannot accept these, or if he perceives his own goals and interests as conflicting, he should not accept the research role in a service organization. The researcher who does not subscribe to the goals of the organization will be unlikely to benefit either the organization or himself.

Second, just as the researcher must accept the goals of the organization, *he must also retain his identity as a scientist and continue to subscribe fully to the norms of science.* More specifically, in resolving the problems of the non-academic career, the sociologist should continue being a sociologist. Whether he is primarily concerned with basic or applied research or the application of sociological knowledge, and whatever other roles he plays, he should not lose sight of the major goal of his discipline — the advancement of knowledge.

The University and Profession

First, *the service organization research career should be recognized as a legitimate career alternative.* Generally, sociologists have not promoted non-academic careers. The basis for this reluctance, in part, is the fear that by changing curricula to fit the needs of other than academic organizations sociologists run the risk of "accepting the values" of those for whom they work. The fear expressed is that professional autonomy and detachment will be compromised and science will be prostituted. It may be, however, that the reluctance to promote non-academic careers is rooted

more in "academic elitism" than in actual experience. There are indeed problems to be guarded against in service organizations. Science needs autonomy, but just as autonomy is not assured in the university it is not precluded in a service organization.

Second, *the possibility of contributing to scientific knowledge and effecting social change through the non-academic research role should be recognized.* Just as service organizations need research, the social sciences need organizations as host research environments. This is where researchers find the human behavior and strategies for changing that behavior that the social sciences are trying to understand and develop.

Third, *training in the social sciences should prepare researchers for careers in non-academic organizations.* At present, researchers often come ill-equipped to meet the demands or avail themselves of the opportunities found in service organizations. This in no way suggests that the standards of training need to be lowered or that the norms of science need to be compromised. Rather it recognizes that researchers may increasingly practice their craft outside the university. Current graduate training includes formal and informal socialization concerning the resolution or role-conflicts in academia. With the possibility of more graduates moving into service organization careers it should be recognized that such training must also take these career lines into account. It should be noted that public support of science and scientific education may be enhanced by persons who have positions which enable them to translate scientific developments into products which are useful to service organizations in dealing with individual and social problems.

The Field of Rehabilitation

First, *the field of rehabilitation should place a greater emphasis on research.* The ethos of the rehabilitation movement, and the weak emphasis on research, is easily apparent in the profes-

sional journals and news letters of the field. The lack of support for research is evident in the preponderance of material promoting the values of rehabilitation or reporting on the politics of the movement, and relative scarcity of articles describing research into the efficacy of service programs.

Second, *the position of the in-house organizational researcher should become an accepted part of rehabilitation facilities.* Many of the problems faced by the field of rehabilitation, such as the lack of a theoretical basis for intervention stategies, ineffective organizational systems through which such techniques are administered, and the delays of research dissemination and utilization can be solved, in part, by the in-house organizational researcher who connects the worlds of science and practice.

In summary, the inadequate university emphasis on training "applied" researchers and the inadequate support for research in the field of rehabilitation notwithstanding, under the appropriate conditions the potential contribution of a researcher in a service organization is substantial and such organizations can be hospitable research settings for social scientists. Whether or not the most propitious conditions can be shaped largely depends upon reciprocal accommodations by the researcher and administrator of the organization. The importance of their relationship and the understanding they develop cannot be overemphasized, for it is in this relationship where organizational and service imperatives must be accommodated with the norms of science and where the personal and professional orientations of the researcher are accommodated with those of the organization's administrators.

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APPENDIX A

PROJECT REFERENCES

If knowledge is not disseminated to appropriate practitioner and scientific audiences, that knowledge has little functional value. Books and monographs, journal articles and the presentation of papers at professional society meetings are perhaps the most frequently recognized methods of dissemination. The references in the following listing include all the published or presented items that related to the research director's position, although several resulted from outside research interests or were partially written prior to 1968.

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APPENDIX B

RESEARCH AND SERVICE PROJECTS

The following annotated listing of projects illustrates the kind of developmental work in which the research director may become engaged. Several of the programs have been discussed as data or illustrative material in preceding descriptions and analysis of the researcher's role in a rehabilitation agency. This is not an exhaustive list of projects on which the researchers were involved, but includes only those that were a significant responsibility of the research department staff.* References to related publications in Appendix A are listed after each project.

Research and Demonstration Projects:

(1) *The Planning and Implementation of the Cleveland Rehabilitation Work Center, Phases I and II* (RD-2594-G), Social and Rehabilitation Service, Department of Health, Education, and Welfare, Washington, D.C.

The aim of this research was to document and analyze the processes involved in the formation and implementation of the Cleveland Rehabilitation Complex — a complex of autonomous rehabilitation agencies. A second goal was to provide a model of coordination to be utilized by agencies with similar problems in other communities. (References: 2, 6, 10, 30.)

(2) *A Coordinated Rehabilitation Program for the Hard-Core Unemployed* (RD-2011), Social and Rehabilitation Service, Department of Health, Education, and Welfare, Washington, D.C.

The goal of this planning project was to develop and begin to test the effectiveness of a rehabilitation program for the hard-core

*The development of any proposal involves a significant expenditure of staff time and agency resources. These efforts, of course, are not always rewarded and some proposals, which from the researcher's perspective are most deserving, are not funded. Hence, in addition to the annotated list of completed or in process projects, some proposals were developed but not funded. These included: "A Follow-up Study of Counseled Veterans," "The Use of a Computer Based Data Processing System in a Rehabilitation Agency," "The Responsiveness of Organizations to Clients," and others.

unemployed and underemployed poor. The project was a cooperative effort between the Cleveland Department of Human Resources and Economic Development and Vocational Guidance and Rehabilitation Services.

(3) *A Coordinated and Responsive Rehabilitation Program for the Socially and Culturally Disadvantaged* (RD-3011-G), Social and Rehabilitation Service, Department of Health, Education, and Welfare, Washington, D.C.

This project demonstrated and evaluated the effectiveness of a coordinated, flexible and responsive rehabilitation program in the inner-city area in which VGRS is located. The Cleveland Inner-City Project (CICP), as the program was called, was centered around proven rehabilitation techniques such as vocational and educational counseling, testing, work evaluation, work adjustment, skill training, selective job placement and follow-up precedures, and supported by family casework, medical and psychiatric services, and other community services that are required by long term jobless persons and their families. (References: 8, 15, 19, 20, 21, 22, 32, 33, 36, 37, 38, 39, 40, 41, 42.)

(4) *A Work Experience Program for Mentally Retarded Students in Their Last Year of School* (RD-2058-G), Social and Rehabilitation Service, Department of Health, Education, and Welfare, Washington, D.C.

This project demonstrated and evaluated a workshop program designed to keep mentally retarded students in school, prepare them for gainful employment, and aid in their transition from school to employment. Services included work evaluation, psychological and vocational testing and counseling administered concurrently with work, and a program of work adjustment training in the Vocational Guidance and Rehabilitation Services Rehabiltation Workshop. (References: 3, 12, 29.)

(5) *A Work Adjustment Project for Disabled Persons with Emotional Problems* (RD-1040-SD), Social and Rehabilitation Service, Department of Health, Education, and Welfare, Washington, D.C.

This project demonstrated and evaluated a Work Adjustment program which was designed to rehabilitate persons who had previously been considered unemployable and untrainable. The service

program drew on recent advances in individual and group counseling and innovative use of the workshop as a rehabilitation setting. Research concentrated on analyzing the role of the work adjustment counselor and his interaction with clients in the contract workshop. Follow-up measures were utilized to assess the value of the program in terms of employment and client reactions to training. (References: 1,16.)

Direct Service Projects:

(6) *A Multi-Service Day Care Center for the Inner-City Aged* (191), Ohio Department of Mental Hygiene and Correction, Division of Ohio Administration on Aging under Title II of Older Americans Act.

This project was designed to reduce the need for institutional care among the inner-city aged by providing comprehensive services for the elderly residing in the Central Planning Area of Cleveland. The project coordinated a comprehensive range of services including medical care, physical rehabilitation, nutrition counseling and a daily hot meal, individual and group counseling, social recreation and volunteer activities, transportation, homemaker and chore services, special clothing and aids for home activities, friendly visiting and telephone assurance.

(7) *Narcotics Addict Rehabilitation Contract* (Ph-43-68-1523), National Institute of Mental Health, Department of Health, Education, and Welfare, Washington, D.C.

This project was designed to provide extensive rehabilitation services to narcotic addicts returning to the Cleveland area from a Federal hospital. The program utilizes individual and group counseling techniques, on the job placement, and other rehabilitation services needed to help the client solve his drug and drug related problems.

(8) *Industry Training Program* (26-P-000003/5-01), Social and Rehabilitation Service, Department of Health, Education, and Welfare, Washington, D.C.

This project was developed in cooperation with the Ohio Bureau of Vocational Rehabilitation and local industry to provide on-the-job training and supportive rehabilitation services to disabled and disadvantaged persons. Basic rehabilitation services to prepare the client for work preceded on and off the job counseling and follow-up services.

(9) *A School-Community Program of Vocational Counseling for Handicapped Students,* Ohio Division of Vocational Education,, Columbus, Ohio.

Students believed to be high risks to drop out of school were selected for a program of vocational counseling and testing with the goal of making their educational experiences more meaningful through a better understanding of their vocational potential.

(10) *Community Recreation and Social Service (Eagle's Nest),* Department of Housing and Urban Development, Washington, D.C.

This Cleveland Model Cities Project centered on physical improvements to render an existing facility suitable for a wider range of community activities and also provided, in part, for the further development of recreational, educational, nutritional and vocational training programs for Model Cities residents.

(11)* *Vocational Guidance and Rehabilitation Services Health Care Station,* Department of Housing and Urban Development, Washington, D.C.

This Cleveland Model Cities Project was designed to provide training and service for the disadvantaged residents of the Model Cities area. The goals of this project were: (1) to reach out and identify sick persons from the Model Neighborhoods and provide direct medical and referral services, and (2) to recruit, train and utilize neighborhood residents for supervised paramedical functions within the station itself and for patient advocacy in the community.

(12) *Business and Electronics Training Services* (SRS-TF-G5-38-8), Social and Rehabilitation Service, Department of Health, Education, and Welfare, Washington, D.C.

This training project was designed to offer training in business (clerical, typing, bookkeeping, and automatic data processing equipment operation) and electronics to persons with all types of disabilities. In addition to learning specific job skills, trainees received practical experience in all phases of the work role before being placed on jobs. Supportive services, such as vocational testing, counseling and follow-up were also provided.

*The responsibility for implementing this project was transferred to another sponsor.

(13) *A Paramedical Training Program for Inner-City Residents,* Department of Labor, Washington, D.C.

This Aim-Jobs of Cleveland project was designed to train twenty socially disadvantaged individuals for paraprofessional health service careers. This approach to "new careers" combined on-the-job training and classroom learning on and off the college campus, to prepare unskilled persons as health aides, physicians' assistants, family health care specialists and other paraprofessional occupations. (References: 31, 37.)

Special Projects:

(14) *The Organization, Management and Tactics of Social Research* (RD-2875-G), Social and Rehabilitation Service, Department of Health, Education, and Welfare, Washington, D.C.

This project sponsored a two day symposium in February of 1969, at which a distinguished group of sociologists and rehabilitation professionals presented and critiqued papers focusing on the administrative, organizational, tactical and procedural problems of managaging research, including the integration of research with practice. (Reference: 2.)

(15) *The Role of Facilities in Training Rehabilitation Personnel* (44-P-25202-5-01), Rehabilitation Services Administration, Social and Rehabilitation Service, Department of Health, Education, and Welfare, Washington, D.C.

This project sponsored a three day conference in April of 1972, which examined, from the perspective of rehabilitation facilities, the ability of rehabilitation institutions to recruit, train and retain skilled staff. A major conference goal was to identify the strengths of facilities as training environments and develop recommendations that would lead to an expanded facility training role. (References: 5, 7.)

(16) *Agency Leadership Training Program* (44-P-25303/5-01), Training Division of Rehabilitation Services Administration, Social and Rehabilitation Service, Department of Health, Education, and Welfare, Washington, D.C.

This pilot project focuses on the leadership of ten agencies from across the country and seeks to help these agencies expand their serv-

ice delivery system and improve the quality of the existing delivery system. To accomplish this short term training was provided for three levels of management — board members, executive directors and workshop managers. Hence, the program consists of three essential steps.

Pending Projects:

(17) *Establishment of a School Based Rehabilitation Project*

This project is designed to demonstrate a service strategy that would (1) encourage socially disadvantaged inner-city students to make maximum use of educational facilities, and (2) when they do terminate their education, provide the transitional services that will enable them to achieve their greatest occupational potential. The services to be coordinated include: family casework and counseling services; skill building and social recreation services; and a broad range of supportive services designed to ameliorate crisis conditions impeding educational and vocational growth.

(18) *King Kennedy Multi-Service Center for the Elderly*

This project is designed to reduce dependence and the need for institutional care among the aged poor living in and around an inner-city public housing estate. The service strategy emphasizes basic and preventive medical and related services, adjustment and integrative services such as social recreation and volunter opportunities, supportive services such as transportation, and protective services for the infirm.

(18)* *Community-Based Correctional Rehabilitation Project for Youth Offends of Impact Crimes*

This Impact Cities project was designed to reduce the rate of recidivism among stranger-to-stranger street crime offenders aged 17 to 21 years. Toward this end: (1) a program of supplemental services for probationers and parolees was established, and (2) a program of counseling and follow-up support services was developed to serve offenders who are released from parole or probation. Component services include: outreach and street counseling services, including family and individual counseling; group work counseling; social recreation activities; referral and follow-up services; and vocational adjustment and skill training programs.

*The responsibility of implementing this project was transferred to another sponsor.

Unfunded Research:

(19) *Occupational Reference Groups Among Rehabilitation Clients*

This study focuses on the occupational reference groups, images, aspirations, and expectations of three hundred clients in several of Vocational Guidance and Rehabilitation Services' vocationally oriented programs. Major explanatory variables include the discrepancy between aspirations and expectations, and the possession and viability of comparative occupational reference groups.

(20) *Research Careers: Sociologists in the Study of Aging*

The major aim of this research was to analyze career variables which are related to the recruitment of sociologists into a substantive area of research, their commitment to the area and their research productivity. (Reference: 11.)

(21) *A Longitudinal Study of 320 Older People*

This study focused on changes in political attitudes and behavior, voluntary association membership, health and the geographical mobility of several samples of middle class suburban older people. (References: 13, 17, 18, 23, 34, 35.)